1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 *f.*

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɣkʷe) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
[177] they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba'ʷkumta'liɣe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa'ʷei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration [177] should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe t'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term t'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (t'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 39 -- An.]

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

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When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

"I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.

"A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

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Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

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To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

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to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or

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dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

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Antelope (37a-73).--There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears

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that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

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horns were placed on the ground leeving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [262] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but [431] was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art [431] in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marrieges among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [583] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship [834] could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed [535] to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

p. 363), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

[868] [777]

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this.

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period.

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire.

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (saw·šaan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (n·šwnan ?ém·luhaya?).[4]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schabost personal communication
4. literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant." 577 605 736

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring. 842 [833] [524]

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumiaheum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

841 881 [753]

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family, he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own. 881 224

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer. [777]

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck. [515] [782]

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways. 584

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it [527]